Family, Politics and Socialization: A Case Study of Jamaat-I-Islami in Dir (KP), Pakistan

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Family is an important agent for transmission of the norms and values of a dominant culture. It both imparts and preserves the culture and value system of a society or a community. Alongside family, political parties in Pakistan also try to inculcate certain values in the members of the society in general, and their party members in particular. The available literature shows that Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) an important religio-political party in Pakistan, has its own clear perspective regarding an ideal Muslim society and the role of individuals in that society. This paper focuses on the role of JI-affiliated families to examine the manner in which children are politically socialized. It tries to investigate the question whether the family influences the future political orientation of the children? The paper utilizes the fieldwork conducted in district Dir (Lower), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which has been the only electoral winning bastion of JI in Pakistan for the last fifty years. Based on the data collected through interviews from JI affiliates, the study validates the argument that family plays very significant role in politically socializing its young members. Political and social concepts along-with religious ideas found in members of JI are thus transmitted to younger generation more through parents in the family then educational institutions, peer groups or mass media.

Keywords: socialization, values transfer, political education, Jamaat-i-Islami, Pakistan, political Islam

Socialization in politics is a complex, disordered and an untied process which is difficult to pin point in a particular phase of an individual's life. Broadly speaking, it is the transmission of political culture, attitudes and values to the coming generations, generally accepted by the citizens in a specific society (Almond & Verba, 1963, pp. 323–374). The fundamental question before us is how and why attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviors need to be transmitted to the coming generations in a given society and political culture.

Almond and Coleman (1960, p.27) opined that culture, traditions, values, behaviors and attitudes are not something which can be transmitted through genes. Rather, these are requirements and social obligations on an individual who is a member of a community or a society. These requirements and obligations are fulfilled through learning processes for individuals to acquire their role in the society (Conover, 1991). Hahn (1998, p.31) termed these processes as political learning processes which include not only the active ways and techniques but the passive ways as well. Citizens learn about the generally accepted attitudes, values and behaviors in formal and informal ways. They adopt and develop behaviors and attitudes which help them identify and locate themselves within their political environments. These developments also help them understand the political and social nature of the society and system. This learning starts from the very childhood of the individuals when they align themselves with political structure of the society, which helps comprehend the politics and government (Dawson & Prewit, 1968, pp.23-47). Such comprehension in turn, helps people in becoming 'good citizens'. These are normally one-way processes of learning and gaining attitudes through interactions with other fellow beings and through different means.

Uniformity in values, attitudes and behaviors is essential for the progress and evolution of any system, which the process of socialization tries to bring. Without uniformity in values and norms of the citizens, the system may not work in a coherent way. Therefore, at the state level, citizens and individuals of society are indoctrinated with the "appropriate and adequate" norms, values and practices required for the progress of the polity and society (Sapiro, 2004, p. 2).

In this regard, every state or society has its own pattern of thoughts, norms, values, laws, traditions and behavior which are transmitted through different agencies such as family, friend's circles, educational institutions, political organizations, media (print, electronic and social), peer groups, religious organizations and military (Beck, 1977). Moghaddam (2017) calls it the "psycho-nationalist narratives" of the state. In his opinion, the state is a major factor in determining the lives of the citizens. He emphasizes more on the role of the (nation) sate than the other factors, particularly the parents and family in the identity formation and progression of group (imagined community) sentiments in the citizens (p.2). However, state has to rely on certain agents for indoctrination of any such "group sentiments" or nationalistic feelings in the citizens. The process of socialization starts from home, and family is the first agent or institution which socializes an individual. The role of family is vital because it shapes the future political attitudes of an individual. Family is an important agent of political change (Smeltzer & Keddy, 2010). It identifies political parties to the children (Beck, 1977), provides an environment for political debates, communications and discussions (Valentino & Sears, 1998), shapes voting behavior and preferences (Akhtar, Awan & Haq, 2010), increases political efficacy (Lee, 2006) and enhances political participation (Wilder, 1999).

Statement of the Problem

Jamaat-i-Islami, being a religio-political party, has its own clear perspective and understanding of an ideal Muslim society. Individuals, the constituent elements of any society, have to perform different roles and responsibilities for the survival and advancement of the society. JI lays different responsibilities on an individual's shoulder. However, he needs to be trained and prepared for those responsibilities and roles. In Jamaat-i-Islami's understanding, the role of a trainer is to be initially played by the family. It has to prepare an individual for his future endeavors and roles in the polity, an idealized and envisioned Islamic state by the founders of Jamaat-i-Islami. Families affiliated to Jamaat-i-Islami are, in a sense, bound to socialize the future citizens in a pattern so as to facilitate the establishment of a 'holy community', which is to serve as a "vanguard of Islamic revolution". Though its role is much significant in the socialization of youth, yet, it is not the sole socializing agent. Other agents can (to an extent), dilute its effects in the later stages of an individual's life. However, the acquired values and norms in the family have lasting effects. The paper is an attempt to know the process of values acquisition (political identification, civic sense, religiosity etc.) of an individual in a Jamaat-i-Islami affiliated family.

Theoretical Framework

This paper tries to establish a relationship of a JI affiliated family to the political socialization of the children, 'the future citizens' of the polity, by using the "structuring proposition or model" of family socialization. This model proposes that the structure of values acquisition of an individual, as determined by family socialization, influences all other political stimuli in his/her later life (Searing, Schawartz & Lind, 1973). Family has a significant role in exposing the children to other socializing agents which imprint lasting effects in shaping political predispositions in children.[1]

Empirical data suggest that children are transmitted only the 'good images' of those political parties and leaders who the family members or parents follow or associated with. For example, all children in any

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[1] It is the family which select a school, college and Madrassa for the children. Family is also involved in selecting reading books and other materials for the children in their early age. In Jamaat-i-Islami case the Jamaat literature is given to the children. The children and young are encouraged to keep a specific friend groups and peers and keep away from certain people. The selection of print and electronic media is also under the check and direction of the parents and family. Focused group discussion. University of Malakand. October 25, 2016.

such family have uniform and favorable images of the political party and leader with which their parents are associated.[2]

Method

The study is descriptive in its nature, based on the primary data collected through interviews and discussion with students, workers, local leaders and office bearers of Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) in District Dir.[3] The area was selected because of the party's significant presence since early 1970s and electoral return incomparable to any other party in Pakistan, and that the impacts of other socializing factors on the children in Dir would be minimum. Data were collected in four Tehsils. Respondents from four tehsils (Adenzai, Balambat, Munda, and Lal Qila Maidan) were categorized in Students (Islami Jamiat Talba[4] and *Jamiat Taluba-i-Arabia*)[5], Teachers (school teachers affiliated with *Tanzim-i-Asatiza*–a JI affiliated association of school teachers), and *Madrassa* teachers, law professionals and party office bearers (*Nazim*, *Naib Nazim*, *Amir*, *Naib Amir*, etc.). Snow ball sampling technique was adopted for respondents' selection. A total of twenty seven respondents (only male, as female affiliates of the party could not be accessed due to many reasons, primarily cultural constraints) were interviewed having their affiliation to JI and its affiliated organizations. Preference was given to those who had held offices or positions in the party or the affiliated organization. From each Tehsil 6-7 respondents were selected with almost uniform characteristics (party affiliation and profession). The data was collected through a semi-structured interview, where each respondent was asked almost the same questions.

Results and Discussion

Party Association/Identification

Majority of the students who are currently associated with Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT) in Malakand University[6] revealed that they joined IJT because of their parents and families. Some of the IJT activists responded that they were not allowed to make friends with or study the literature of any other political party or ideological group. Though they had excellent political sense and knowledge of the political events in Pakistan, yet their inclination towards Jamaat-i-Islami was evident from the fact that their socialization was strictly regulated by their families. It seemed that it was very difficult for them to be influenced of someone else's political stance and struggle.[7]

Some scholars argue against the party identification and the associated values to it, in the children (Jenning & Niemi, 1974, p.39). They consider the resemblance of the children's political attitudes to their parents are subjected to the environment and the social context. It is the environment and the social context which is to decide whether a child should continue his parents and family political norms and values or to abandon them (Connell, 1972).

Politico-Religious Discussions

Research suggests that parents transmit political knowledge, social awareness, norms, values and interest to their children (Jaros, 1973).[8] Political discussion is one part of the value transfer. In the families formally affiliated to JI, a daily or weekly gathering is required of all the family members which they call *Ijtima-i-Ahli-Khana*[9] (gathering of the family). Though in such a gathering, political discussions rarely take place as the gathering is more or less arranged for the discussion of some verses from the holy Quran, yet

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[2] Field survey. District Dir, October 25, 2016.

[3] Dir is a district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (North West Pakistan).

[4] IJT is a student's organization affiliated to Jamaat-i-Islami.

[5] Jamaat-i-Islami affiliated student's organization in Madrassas (religious seminaries).

[6] There were total 13 students in the focused group, out of which 11 said that they are in IJT because of their families' affiliation to JI.

[7] Focused Group Discussion. University of Malakand, Chakdara: Dir. October 25, 2016.

[8] Also see Langton (1969) and Valentino & Sears (1998).

[9] It is a well established custom within JI affiliated families. In some families it is daily routine, while in other it occurs in a week or twice a month.

such gatherings are vital to strengthening and maintaining the family bonds with the party (Sultanatyar, 2016).

However, all the families are not involved in political discussion in the same manner. In other words, the level and magnitude of the political discussion is different in different families. Thus, the parents are regarded as individuals triggering and stimulating the willingness and abilities of the children to get involved in the debate and discussion and acquire information and knowledge (Eveland & Scheufele, 2000).

A general perception is that the impacts of parental socialization can be strongest at an early age of the children but they tend to weaken and consequently diminish as the children grow older. Scholars are of the opinion that it is not possible that the parents' influence completely diminishes. However, the influence of other socialization agents is more prominently visible in the later life of an individual (Niemi, Ross & Alexander, 1978).[10] For example many people who because of their family socialization were members of JI formally, have now changed their political loyalties and affiliations to some other political parties.[11] However, majority of the people (JI affiliates) in Dir termed such people as "non-ideological" affiliates. In their opinion, such people and their families were in JI for their personal political gains (Rahimullah, 2016).

Similarly, family plays a prominent role in the intergenerational transmission of political values and culture. This is very important aspect and role of the family especially in the situation of rapid social and political change. This mechanism is a source of social and political stability within a society, polity and even in the political parties. However, some discontinuities also occur which distinguish one generation from the other. These discontinuities can be termed as generation defining events. For example, the occurrence of some national and international events and the change of party's policy and strategy is normally seen as the need and requirement of the new generation. The very selection of JI central leadership from Dir, the formation of *Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal* (united Action front) or even formation of coalition government with Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, are termed as the need of the time and the new generation.[12]

Sapiro (2004) is of the opinion that intergenerational transmission of values and norms needs a comparative study and research because the context and the environmental dynamics for every generation are not the same. The differences in the context can lead to different effects of political socialization. For those families who have active political involvement in politics and have political affiliation with one of the political parties, the intergenerational transmission is quite direct in their children. The children acquire same party identification and know-how as their parents have. These families are much successful in transmitting the party identification, political learning, political norms, voting and voting preferences to their children (Banks & Roker, 1994). In the case of JI, the political values and political norms transmitted do not undergo any significant difference between the two generations, however, the party's strategies may be differently transmitted and identified.[13]

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[10]Also see Plutzer (2002) and Rosenstone & Hansen (2003).

[11] We have many examples in this regards in Dir and some other areas. There are many prominent political figures who because of their families were actively involved in politics and affiliated with their families' political parties, but with the passage of time their political bonds with their parties' weakened and consequently they have joined other political parties.

[12] Sher Zamin Khan Baba one of the founding members of JI in Dir said that the party in our time was not like it is now. It has changed significantly. He was critical of the changed policy of the party, however, he also added that" it is probably the need of the time and situation". (Sher Zamin Baba 80, is a devoted member of JI and is honorary member of the party *shura*. However, interestingly his nephew has left JI in the local bodies elections 2015. He contested election under the flag of Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf)

[13] In the case of JI, the transmission of the values is quite clear. If the family is affiliated with JI from the beginning, the pattern of its values transmission is significantly similar for each generation. Almost similar political and ideological values are transmitted to the young.

The transmission of these political norms are not always direct. Families transmit these norms in a more indirect manner. For example, Jaros (1973) argued that it is the pattern of decision making within the family and its ways of interacting with the outer world which have enormous impacts on the children's political attitudes. Longton (1969) is of the opinion that it is the family that offers the first experience of authority to the children. The family elder who normally is called as *baba/kaka* (grandfather/uncle) has significant importance in this regard in *Pashtoon* families. The grandfather or the elders are given respect, have authority and say in all the affairs of the family, which the young directly observe. The young do get their concepts of political authority, rationality, logical arguments and understanding, duty and responsibility, and rights and wrongs in the family. The concepts and feelings of ethnocentrism, ethno-nationalism and hostility are also transmitted by the families according to their preferences. For example, hostility towards the opposite political ideology and party remains visible specifically in religious political parties. JI affiliates are more hostile towards JUI and Awami National Party in Dir and JUI affiliates are more hostile towards Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf (PTI), JI and Pakistan People's Party. These hostilities are transmitted to the coming generations in the families. In some areas, the hostilities are severe and the competing parties even term each other as out of the folds of Islam.[14]

The transfer of such values are the result of several indirect processes and interactions. For example, in the case of JI, the family heads denied the claim that they socialize their children in a pre-determined process. In the opinion of some heads of the families, the whole of the socialization process is not planned. Though the young are expected to follow the family's political path, however, they are not forced to involve in any political activity. It mostly depends on the desire and will of the individual to adopt any political value of the family. However, in majority of the cases, the un-intentional socialization and instilling the political party's ideology in the youth is very common.[15]

Political discussion, specifically the internal party politics, is freely discussed with the children in JI affiliated families. The party's political stances, strategies and policies in the popular issues are made understandable to the children. Children, on the basis of the information provided to them by their parents and family members, frequently engage in political discussion.[16]

Political/Civic Participation

Plutzer (2002) founds in his research that some parents directly and explicitly stimulate their children to participate in political activities. They encourage them to take part in political discussions and debates with their friends. They also influence them to become members of some political and civic groups for volunteer works within the community. Most of the families in the case of JI encourage their children to be a part of IJT in colleges and universities, as they consider it a suitable platform for their children to groom their personality and remain attached with the teachings of Islam. In their opinion IJT is less political, more a social kind of student organization.[17] However, in *Madaris* the children are allowed to participate in political gatherings and other activities, not on the basis of some political activity but a religious one. In civic activities, JI affiliated families are more flexible and open for their children to take part in community related civic issues.

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[14] This kind of behavior is more visible in JUI affiliates. Many of them consider JI affiliates as out of the folds of Islam. Sami Ur- Rehman an ex-JI District Karak Amir lamented that JUI members who used to be the prayer leaders in different mosques, before the formation of Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal in 2002, would not allow us for Dars-i-Quran in their mosques even. They used to call us *Maududyan* (followers of Mawdudi) who in their opinion was out of the folds of Islam.

[15] Field observation in Dir. Most of the respondent were having the opinion that the socialization process is not pre-determine and fixed.

[16] Focused Group Discussion, University of Malakand, Chakdara Dir. October 25, 2016.

[17] FGD University of Malakand, Chakdara: Dir. October 25, 2016.

Similarly, the indirect effects of parents on the children's political behavior are also significant. For some scholars, children whose parents tend to participate in elections will actively participate and engage in political and civic activities (Plutzer, 2002, p.47). For others, the level and ratio of political and civic participation of those children are high whose parents are involved in electoral campaigns and engaged in voluntary activities (Roker, Player & Coleman, 1999).[18] This is the indirect role and influence of the parents on the behavior pattern of their children because their intentions are not to involve and influence their children's political and civic behavior.

In the opinion of some scholars, these indirect activities of the parents influence the behavior patterns of the children because they (children) consider their parents their role model in their political and social life. Children pick up and adopt the habits of their parents in their personal life and they start to act their political and civic roles from a very young age (Hess & Torney, 1967).[19] In the opinion of Chan and Elder (2001, p.26), parents through their engagement and involvement in the political and civic activities, socialize their children and influence their political behavior. Thus, they are encouraged to participate in different political and civic groups in an un-described way.

Some scholars argued that for the long term and stable social networks of the children and their integration into the community and society, stable parental and family relations are necessary (Stoker & Jenning, 1995). The presence of both the parents provides children two role models instead of one which obviously enhance their political knowledge and understanding of political events and issues. The broken or divorced families may have very negative impacts on the children's socialization and political behavior. This not only decreases the children's participation in the volunteer activities but significantly affect the voter turnout as well (Sandell & Plutzer, 2005). However, since in the area under study, female members of the family are not actively and independently involved in politics (both in JI and JUI affiliated families), therefore, their absence in the family does not affect the political orientation of the children. The structure of the family is highly patriarchal and the male head is more involved in the political socialization of the children. However, it does not indicate that the absence of the female member of the parents will not have any impacts on the behavior of the children. The socio-psychological impacts are very high in such cases, which obviously have some indirect effects on the political socialization of the children (Sultanatyar, 2016).

A significant query can be the level and extent of parents' political values and attitudes transmitted to the children. Both the direct and indirect factors of socialization and values transfer from parents to children can be ineffective without the interest of the children themselves. Some scholars argued that the level of interest of the children is as important as the parents and other socializing agents (Tedin, 1974).[20] Young people and children can be socialized effectively if they themselves have interest in what they are being taught and transmitted. In those families where the political debates and discussions are more frequent, children's interest develops significantly. This interest in political debates within a family prepare them for political participation and values adaptation (Prewitt, 1965, p.105).

To what extent the children's political or civic characters are built by the parents? Obviously, the exact extent of the parents' influence is not possible to quantify. However, JI affiliated families have significant impacts on children's civic and political orientation. There might be different reasons for that, but the most visible and important one is the head of the family position and role in the family's socio-political affairs. It is important to know the space and weightage given to the children in socio-political discussion and decisions. Many respondents argued that children are not given much space in political decisions-making. Even they are directed to cast their vote in favor of a particular contestant if their party's candidate is not contesting elections (Miraj, 2016).[21] Similarly, the civic activities of the children are related and associated to the permission of their family's heads. If the elders of the family give them permission to participate in some

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[18] Also See Chan & Elder (2001).
[19] see McFarland & Thomas (2006).
[20] Also see Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers. (2001).
[21] Miraj Khan Dirvi is the vice president JI Youth, Tehsil Timergara.

social welfare work, they participate.[22] For example, in 2010-11, very severe and destructive floods hit many parts of the province. Miraj Khan, along with his 15 friends decided to participate in the relief activities. But five of the group members were not allowed by their families to go for the trip (Miraj, 2016). JI affiliated families give (limited) permission to the women for participating in JI religious and political gatherings. As JI also has a women party wing, therefore, many women are encouraged by their family heads to take part in active politics (Zarawar, 2016).

Similarly, the religious beliefs of the family are also transmitted to the children. In most parts of the world, religion is considered to be a part of culture. So, the religious values are transmitted to the children not only as a religious obligation but as cultural values as well. Though religion and culture are two different things, but, (in Pashtoon society) they are inter-mixed to a great extent. Due to societal constraints, the religious families have also to follow the cultural and traditional path of the society. Therefore, some religious values are transmitted to the children not only as religious obligation but as cultural components of the society as well.[23]

Family and parents also shape children's orientation towards political community and government. Their orientation, either negative or positive, has consensual back up of their families. For example, General Zia-ul-Haq personality, his reforms and *Islamization* are portrayed in a positive way to the children unanimously by all the families affiliated to JI. Zia is considered by JI affiliates as a true Muslim and a great ruler who has done enough for the imposition of *Shariah* in Pakistan. According to them, none of the rulers have done anything practical for *Islamization* of the constitution in Pakistan except Zia.[24] On the other hand, the opinion of the people regarding General Perviz Musharraf is mostly negative.

As the parents have the significant share in making their children aware of the existing system and structure of the society. Revolutionists (left-wing revolutionaries) believe that any existing system is merely preserving the interest of the ruling class and political elites. People belonging to the lower middle class do not dare to raise against the unjust treatment because of the fear of losing what they already have. Therefore, they even do not discuss the wrongs of the system with their children. In their early ages, almost all the children are indoctrinated the values of Pakistani nationalism and loyalty to the state. The elements of nationalism are more visible in JI affiliated families. They inculcate in their children the feelings of nationalism and freedom. However, they also try to prepare them for an Islamic system in the country. But this preparation or awareness is not against the state but against all those who are, or can be, a potential hurdle in the way of Islamic system of law (Zarawar, 2016). This may also include the existing government as well.[25]

Shaping Voting Behavior

Another very significant evidence in favor of family role in the socialization is the shaping of voting behavior. Several studies suggest that family has a dominant role in shaping voting behavior of the young generation. Political discussion and family political affiliation tend to indoctrinate specific political norms and values in the individuals.

A recent study conducted by Rauf and Shah (2015) found that family has a significant role in shaping the electoral behavior of the individuals in Charsadda, Pakistan. Furthermore, they classified family in different categories. Each category has its own impacts on the voting behavior of the individuals. In another research, conducted by Shah *et al* (2015), suggested that family is the most important element in the social

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[22] FGD University of Malakand, Chakdara: Dir. October 25, 2016.

[23] The most important example is the covering of head by a girl and the segregation of women and men in some kind of social gatherings.

[24] Almost all the people from JI with whom I was engaged in discussion during my field work, were having positive opinion about Zia.

[25] As in the case of Musharraf after he joined hands with the US led NATO forces in War Against Terror in Afghanistan

networks of an individual. Other researchers have also emphasized that party identification in the beginning is the responsibility of the family and the parents.

It is also argued by some scholars that the lack of party identification by individuals can be because of lack of (political) communication between parents and children (Converse & Dupuex, 1962). JI affiliated families are active and cautious about the appropriate party identification to their children. From the very young age They identify the party to their children and get them engaged in attending party arranged politico-religious meetings and gatherings. Communication and discussion on socio-political matters is considered to be an essential part of the discussion within the family. The *Ijtima-i-Ahli Khana* is one such prominent forum where both male and female members of the family gather and discuss religious, social and political affairs, though the JI affiliates do not consider the gatherings as having political ends. For them, it is more of a religious kind of gatherings. Yet the different religious issues which are discussed in such gatherings are contextualized with the JI literature specifically with the writings of Maulana Mawdudi. In this manner, the children from a relatively young age get acquainted with the writings of Maulana Mawdudi (Zarawar, 2016).

Control over Technology

Apparently, the use of social media has limited the role of family in the socialization of the children but it is also important to examine if the families affiliated with JI allow their children to use it. Also, it is vital to gauge the age at which children are allowed to engage in virtual and cyber activities. It is learnt that the religious families affiliated with JI normally do not allow their children to use tools and devices by which they can have access to social media during their early ages. However, in the late teens the (male) children are given permission to use social media and internet (although in most parts of the area where the fieldwork was conducted, majority people were not having access to internet). Now this is very important in terms of socialization and political orientation. In their late teens, the children belonging to JI affiliated families have already made their minds with some preoccupied politico-socio- religious concepts regarding the political parties, specifically JI. So if they get engage in some online discussions regarding the political parties they are affiliated with, that may help in broadening their opinion and perspective regarding some politico-social issues. It is also obvious that they might get influences from the political program of some other political parties as well.[26] Thus it can be proposed that in such areas and spaces, family and parents have stronger role than media or say social media.

Conclusion

Niemi *et al.*, (1978) while conducting research on the similarity of parents and children political attitudes found a strong similarity in attitudes of college students with their parents. In comparison to that, the similarity between the parents and their non-student children was not that strong and significant. They relate their findings to the socio-economic status of the families and argued that parents have a stronger influence over their children in families with high socio-economic status. In Plutzer's (2002) opinion, the high socio-economic status families invest more efforts, resources and time in transmitting their values and attitudes to their children. Therefore, their direct and indirect efforts of socializing their children are more effective than those with a relatively low socio-economic status within a society. However, in case of JI, the socio-economic status of the family in majority of the cases remains immaterial. In contrast to the findings of Niemi *et al.* (1978) people affiliated with religious political parties with a comparatively low socio-economic status have significant influence over their children than with a high socio-economic status. Furthermore, children who are educated in religious institutions are more inclined towards their family affiliated religious

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[26] FGD, University of Malakand, Chakdara: Dir. October 25, 2016. Two of the respondents told us that they previously were associated with IJT but now they are active members of ISF i.e. Insaf Student Federation (a student wing of Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf). One of the respondent was belonging to a JI affiliated family, his parents and family members were not happy with his political affiliation with ISF. In their opinion social media has played a significant role in making their minds about ISF and PTI.

political parties. Those children who study in colleges and universities can deviate from the family's politico-religious ideology (Shareer Khan, 2016).[27]

The political affiliation of the parents and family is significant in the future political orientation of the children. It is believed that children affiliate themselves with the political parties with which their parents are affiliated. Parents and family are to determine what political ideology their children have to adopt and which political party they are to follow. For example, in Dir, in the case of Jamaat-i-Islami three distinct mechanism for family role in the political indoctrination of their children were observed.

The first one is the "induction" effect and mechanism, where the head of the family or sometime known as the "opinion leader" transmits the same political values and attitudes he/she has him/herself, to the other members of the family. The induction mechanism is much visible in the political indoctrination of the children. The best example of the induction effects according to Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955, p.32), is the persuasion of the parents and elders for vote in favor of a specific political group or party during elections. The shaping of voting behavior is the prerogative of the family elder.

The second is the "homophile" effect, which denotes the concept of likeminded people living together with similar political orientations, values and attitudes in a same political environment. Children in such an environment are exposed to continuous political discussion and political stimuli, leading to the intra-family consistency (Huber & Malhotra, 2013). The continuous exposure of children to similar politico-social contents and environment help them streamline their political orientation and learning in a particular pattern and direction. The pattern and direction is determined by the family head.

The third one is the confounding effect. These effects within the family environment are contextual and the impacts are different on different individuals. The basic political stimulus lays in the community, where political and civic participation and engagement is at its peak. The confounding effects are more visible in those areas where the societal collective politico-social role is more than an individual family. In such case, the pattern of political socialization is determined by the society and not by the family. JI in Dir provides a perfect example in this regard.

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[27] Shareer Khan is a head Teacher in *Jamiah Ahya-ul-Uloom Blambat*, Dir, a religious seminary of JI.

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